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The Madras Review

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MADRAS NOV 1921

A prize of Rs. 25, another of Rs. 15 and a third of Rs. 10 will be given to the best character sketch of any living personality not exceeding thousand five hundred words. The entries will be closed on the 15th of October 1921.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S GREATNESS.

No living man is so much misunderstood as Mahatma Gandhi. His friends are extravagant in his praise as his enemies are uncompromising in their condemnation. It was said that in the case of Napoleon III the world committed two great errors: first in rating him as a fool and second in treating him as a genius. He was neither the one nor the other. In the same way Mahatma Gandhi never perpetrated the miracles attributed to him by his fond admirers nor is he the arch traitor and villain that some jealous worthies try to depict him. He is, without doubt, one of the greatest men, if not of all times, at least among the living. He is a great man because he is so far above us. The towering heights to which his head and heart generally soar make his admirers rivet all eyes on them while they fail to see that he like other mortals has his feet as low as ours, firmly planted on Earth. On the other hand his enemies in their anxiety to make out that Mahatma Gandhi is like themselves treading on the same ground with them and sometimes stumbling upon the same rocks and obstacles that seem to escape his eyes see only his feet and forget the best part of him. They argue that all stand on the same level, rest on the same earth, travel along the same road and therefore see no reason why he is considered higher than themselves. They do not realise that a great man is not suspended in the air, abstracted from society. He is great not because his feet are not as low as our own but because his head is far above ours.

We readily quote a great man's example to justify the absence of virtue in us and try to console, even satisfy, ourselves by claiming to be no more vicious. We forget that while partaking in the weakness of the great we share the vices of ordinary men; whereas the great man with well defined weakness is untrammelled by their vices. Whatever the height to which great men may reach they have always something that unites them at some point with the lowest. Great men and small have the same accidents, the same tempers and passions the only difference is that the former are on the felloes of the wheel the latter near the axle, and therefore less agitated by the same revolutions.

This is the difference between Mahatma Gandhi and his followers. He talks of Swaraj, so do others. While he in his person is a labourer of labourers, an outcaste among outcastes, a paraiah among paraiahs he is also an intellectual among intellectuals, a genius among geniuses, a saint among saints. The labour troubles had been violently raging in Madras for months now. Every section had its own leaders—in fact a superfluity of them. Yet there was not one who had the sincerity, courage or wisdom to say anything on these lines :—

> I warn all those who are Hindus to beware of thinking that there is high caste and low caste in Hinduism. Caste there undoubtedly is in Hinduism, but caste has been created for giving us a sense of duty but not privileges and rights. Each caste is born to serve mankind. A Brahmana serves with his knowledge, a Kshatriya serves with his power of protection, a Vaisya with his commerce, and a Shudra with his hand and feet. But, believe me, all are equal in the sight of God and he is the greatest who serves best, and there is no such thing as a fifth caste in Hinduism. Untouchability is a sin against God and humanity. It is a blot on Hinduism, and I urge you fellow labourers with me, to dismiss from your minds the idea that the Panchama brethren are untouchable and lower than any one of us, and if we had not treated them with contempt, if we had not maltreated them even as we claim we were ill-treated at Jallianwalla Bagh, there would have been no difficulty about the attainment of Swaraj, and believe me this unhappy land will never return to happiness unless Hindus, with a supreme effort, have got rid of this curse of untouchability. Therefore, considering the whole question from every point of view, I advise you strongly not to interfere with our Panchama brethren in anything they may do.

After enlightening the labourers on their right to insist on the Company employing all of them or none, their right to be advised by whomsoever they choose and elect any one they like as President of their Union from among themselves or outside, their right consistent with the condition of affairs in the country to determine the terms of their re-joining service and demand wages

sufficient to sustain life, educate children and live as decent human beings, their right to the same fresh water and air as their employers, for leisure and recreation he says:

> But you have also corresponding duties to perform. You must render diligent and faithful service to your employers. You have to look after the property of your employers as if it is your own, and you should not seduce a single one of the employees from the service. You may not absent yourselves without permission. These simple rights and duties once being understood must always be insisted upon and fulfilled as the case may be.

In case the employers refuse to employ the labourers on their terms after respectful submission the means of earning a livelihood is shown in the spinning wheel and handloom:

> I assure you, and I ask you to accept the assurance of an experienced spinner and weaver, that if you will diligently work at this occupation for not less than eight hours per day, you will be able, each one of you, to earn as much as one rupee per day. As spinners you will earn perhaps three annas a day but as accomplished weavers you can obtain a wage of one rupee a day. Your wives, your sisters, your mothers, your children seven or eight years of age, can all lend a helping hand to you in earning your livelihood in this fashion. The more there are of you the more you earn. The question therefore for those who have got large families is solved automatically, and when you have learnt the dignity of your state and as you have also understood that you have an occupation to fall back upon, you will not be violent either against your employers or against those who choose to seek employment under them. If you will but follow my advice you will find that you will not only become self-reliant but the relations between yourselves and your employers will be of the healthiest character, and when every labourer, every man and every woman in the land thinks of Swaraj and self-purification, let me assure you, you will accelerate the day of Swaraj. Whether you accept this advice or not, please remember that any violence, any disturbance committed by you, will recoil with re-doubled force upon your own heads. You will forfeit all public sympathy and every man's hand will be against you. Therefore you will make up your minds not to go near the mills, not to seek collision with Panchama brethren, but you will be engaged in quietly organising yourselves for work. Labor has no occasion to go a begging.

In winding up he says:

> The things that the country demands of us are capable of being done by every one of us, to swear before God that we shall not resort to violence for the freedom of our country or for settling quarrels between Hindus and Mussalmans, to resolve that God is our witness, that in spite of madness shown by some of our Mopla countrymen, we Hindus and Mussalmans shall remain united for ever, to take a solemn vow that henceforth we shall never wear foreign cloth or use it for any domestic purpose and that we shall wear only such cloth as is made out of hand-spun yarn and which is hand woven, and seeing that we claim to fight the battle of religion, we will not defile our bodies by touching wine or woman, we shall not gamble, we shall not steal nor shall we deceive any people. I make bold to say that if you ten thousand labourers of Madras mills will make this solemn resolution and abide by this resolution, you will find that at the end of the chapter you will have contributed not a little to the attainment of Swaraj.

The example of Alexander's chastity could not make so many continent as his drunkenness spread intemperance. We displayed our readiness to preach N. C. O., with the Government, boycott foreign goods and burn other people's clothes. We have gleefully agreed to civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes, even looking forward to the day. But how few have yet preached, much less adopted, the abolition of caste, even untouchability? How many were there to take the vow of poverty like Mahatma Gandhi? How many who ever embraced the Puritan life of the Mahatma? On the other hand we can show dozens of people who found N. C. O. like other forms of agitation paying both financially and in popular favour, with invitations to Government House and tete-a-tete conferences with high placed officials occasionally thrown in. Newspapers have carried on N. C. O. propaganda for purposes of increased popularity and on the strength of extensive circulation, canvassed advertisements of foreign goods while their editors and proprietors practised complete Videsi and in all its super-excellence. N. C. O. as the road leading to popular favour has hitherto worked successfully in the case of many leaders, while the benefits that accrued to the masses run below freezing point.

Still there is no reason why the great thoughts and words of Mahatma Gandhi should be disregarded for no reason but the obnoxious personality of their exponent. Sound advice and sensible talk even from non-co-operators should not be unwelcome. On the Madras Beach last week, we saw Mahatma Gandhi in his real self, free from the influence of the Ali Brothers, a gentle loving creature, full of solicitude for the welfare of others giving the best in him, demanding nothing in return. It is indeed a pitiable sight to see these friends of Turkey and Afghanistan snatching away from the bosom of India her fountain head of spirituality, her only asset at present, which is of incalculable value to her and of no conceivable use to further the overwhelming ambition of the adventurous pair.

Let us not be so short-sighted as to see only the coarse khaddar that covers Mahatma Gandhi's external form. Let us strive to see the wonderful head covered by the uncouth turban and the great big heart beating deeper than khaddar, defying estimation by all accepted standards of human greatness. Let us not imitate Mahatma Gandhi's weakness before rising to his eminence. Let us be guided by the elevation of his head rather than by the location of his feet.

The Madras Review Malabar Relief Fund

T. Numberumal Chetty	Rs. 15.
Dr. T. C. K. Kurup	„ 50.
Captain R. C. Toyle	„ 25.
Mr. K. U. Govinda Menon	„ 25.

TANJORE KALLAR CONFERENCE

We congratulate Prince D. M. Durai Rajah of Pudukotta on his able and eloquent address as President of the Kallar Conference. The Kallar community cannot do better than follow the advice contained therein to improve their condition in the future. It cannot be denied that the Government have not done all that was possible or necessary to raise this once warlike race from its present condition of poverty, ignorance and crime. The President's observation "that very often people who are competent to fill high offices are overlooked either because they have not the good fortune to be in the gubernotorial limelight, or because they have no sponsors in the shape of high officials", will be re-echoed heartily by all communities in the Presidency, except the most favoured. When the Non-Brahmin movement was first started it was the grievance of all that Brahmins alone got preference in Government offices. It is our experience that the only change now seen is that Brahmins are no longer the favoured race but the balance of power has shifted to the next highest classes of Hindus. So far as the generality of Non-Brahmins are concerned their claims to commural representation in the public services of this province are as remote today as in the fifth century B. C. Non-Brahmins as a class never bargained for this; and until the present day mushroom oligarchy is rooted out the movement is in danger of immediate collapse.

Regarding Sir William Vincent's words on the Mopla riot, Prince Durai Rajah rightly says "For God's sake, say you are afraid of agitators. In the name of fairness admit you are weak and let all people know about it. It is this weak policy, weak as water, which has made the Non-co-operation movement so strong as it is today". As a remedy he says;

> "Gentlemen, let us start propaganda work of our own. Let us go about from nook to corner of every place and dispel the false effusions of these dangerous men. Propaganda work of this description is urgently needed, if we are to keep our country peacful, our homes and families safe and secure, and our civic life free from rude and violent disorganisation. We ought at this juncture-rally to the support of the Government which in a manner stands to us in the relationship of a guardian. Do we not feel that, in spite of its backslidings, in spite of grave errors, the British Goverument has played the role satisfactorily? Theirs is but a human organisation and as such not infallible.

We trust all interested in the peace of India will ponder over the state of affairs prevailing in the country as truly and faithfully depicted by the learned President and profit by his observations.

HOW TO LEAD.

(By Kautilya.)

The success of a democratic Government depends largely on its leaders. It is not easy to set out in what wise and sagacious leadership consists, but there are certain qualities without which none can aspire to that position.

The leader must be a practical idealist. He must have an ideal cut present before his eyes; and his function is to devise practical means for attaining it. But it would be wise for him to keep the ideal away from the gaze of his followers. The multitnde cannot generally comprehend a great idea as such, but it can always appreciate practical things which have a direct bearing on its everyday life. Let the leaders' efforts be ever directed to the training of the crowd to welcome the ideal when in the fulness of time it is presented to its vision.

There are grave reasons for this policy. Ideas work in different ways on different minds. The average man does not possess a very receptive mind, but when once a facinating idea possesses him he is likely to get out of control. Even the most excellent ideas like liberty and equality have often proved dangerous when they are allowed to travel beyond the speculative minds of statesmen and philosophers. An idea which may rest in perfect equipoise in a cultivated mind, might when transplanted in a mind of a different kind, end in throwing it out of balance. Keep your ideals to yourself, but let all that you do silently tend towards them.

In a popular constitution, courage in a leader is sometimes the whole of statesmanship. A free country is generally a happy hunting ground for political charlatans. The Demos is ever open to influence. All unknown to the man at the helm the ship of state may begin to quicken with tremer. Depend upon it, you are in for bad and squally weather. If you now fail to face the mutinous crew with unfaltering courage, you will never get to port The crowd knows its master when it meets one.

A leader should never make himself cheap. The average man loves mystery. He would never look at plain and familiar things. To take him into confidence at every step will spell disaster. Speak only when the necessity for speech is overwhelming and when you do, let your utterance be frank and free and above all, short. Having said your say, retire at once and do not wait for explanations and elaborations. An error does not mattter, indicision and nervousness would undo your career.

To count upon the intelligence of the Demos would be folly. There may be individuals who may be as good as the leader himself in many respects. But their psychology is hardly the criterion. The mind of the people is like water, it will

stand at the level of the lowest minds comprising it. To present high and ennobling thoughts to the multitude is waste of time and energy. Administer no more of your political nostrums than it can assimilate, and watch for results. At the psychological moment lead your host into action and march to victory. The goal reached, let not a moment pass without administering in proper sedative to calm its excited nerves.

The Demos is a dangerous animal to play with. Full of endearing caresses, like a fond mistress, at one moment, tigress- like it may maul you to death before another has passed. Its memory is short. The present is real and it fills the eyes and minds of the people so wholly that they cannot go through the difficult task of corrilating with the past. Your services are seldom remembered, and gratitude is a word unknown in the language of democracy. If you fall from favour you fall like Lucifer- never to rise again.

Leadership in democracy requires great personal authority and unimpeachable moral ascendancy to sustain it. The foundation of Democracy is Trust. You will not be trusted unless and until you have divested yourself of every possible advantage you possess in life. The little things of the world are dear to the common mind. Leave them alone in favour of an empire over the hearts and brains of multitudes of your fellow-men.

HOME RULE AND THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

(By Mr. V. S. Venkataraman.)

The three columns of impertinence appearing in the "Servant of India" over the name of a Christian Missionary named Mr. Bushill provoke a reply. Pretending to be a champion of Home Rule this pious gentleman professes to give advice while intentionally or unintentionally his effusion is calculated to create racial feeling between the "Depressed Classes" and other sections of Indians. He states "that a very large section of the people known by the suggestive title of 'Depressed Classes' . . . . not only have no love for Swaraj but on the other hand are positively opposed to it." As a life worker of seven year's standing among these people he has come to the conclusion that "they one and all have a positive fear and dread of the day when Swaraj shall be granted to the public" and in speaking of the "Public" they do not include themselves in that expansive form. It is a calculated untruth to say that the 'Depressed Classes' have a horror for Swaraj. They have now their own representatives in the Councils who have time and again pressed their claims successfully, evoking sympathy and appreciation from others. The grievances of the Depressed Classes exist primarily in the imagination of the Christian Missionaries and others who plied their trade in setting up class against class successfully till now, though the demand for them has been on the wane of late. In the interior parts of India where these people have not penetrated, the relation between all classes of Indians, Muhammadans and Hindus, high caste and low caste, has been one of exceptional cordiality. The trouble was mostly in towns where in season and out the Christian Missionary rubbed it in the face of the socalled Depressed Classes that the higher castes "are their heriditary enemies, historically, politically and religiously" that swaraj for the Hindus means swaraj according to the Vedas and the Laws of Manu, and according to which they are d—d for ever and ever and can never rise to the privileges of the twice-born. No one will attempt to minimise the evils of the caste system. But in matters of politics caste played only a very minor part till now and but for the unworthy manouevourings of interested parties separate electorates even for Muhammadans would not have come to pass. Since Hindus and Muhammadans made up their differences, at least to some extent, strenuous attempts are now being made to set up the so-called Depressed Classes against caste Hindus. This attempt bore fruit recently in Madras in the Puliyanthope disturbance from the effects of which we are still suffering. If it be the object of these self-constituted philanthropists to create trouble in India their attempts are singularly successful; but if their object is to champion the cause of the weak and the oppressed it stands to reason that a reconciliation of the conflicting interests of the various castes is the only road leading to finality. To say that the higher castes ever oppressed the lower either socially, politically or economically is false and knowingly false to all who cared to know Indian conditions. It is regrettable that the priesthood in India, as in all other parts of the world and among all races, to some extent imposed on others. Apart from this and but for the social indignities that in time came to be imposed in some instances, Hiudu society has been exceptionally tolerant, kind and sympathetic. Under the old village organisation that was the basic principle of Indian society, no oppression was ever pratised nor was it possible. Each individual formed a necessary and important link in the chain of society. As no chain can be stronger than its weakest link it was to the interests of society to keep each link strong and serviceable. It was only with the advent of Western civilisation, town life, and industrial development, that the individuality of the socalled Depressed Classes clashed with the other sections. The changing conditions have removed much of the grievances while others are fast vanishing. As the trouble began in the towns so is the remedy also developing in the towns. An Adi Dravida in Madras is treated on terms of equality wherever he goes and this spirit is fast spreading to the moffusil also. So far as the Hindus are concerned, they will square up their differences magnificently if only the ubiquitous Christain Missionary will mind his business other then fomenting dissensions in India. India's unceasing wail now is "Save me from my friends".

THE MAHATMA IN MADRAS.

Mahatma Gandhi's speech in this City had the characteristic of his latter day speeches and writings viz historical fallacies uttered with pontifical solemnity. The Mahatma is at his best when he enunciates novel political doctrines and advances theories diametrically opposed to all teachings and warnings of history. If the Mahatma's ideal country never existed before, his methods of attaining it had equally no precedent in the history of any nation. His Madras speech was verbose and self - contradictory and full of ipsedixit.

The Mahatma welcomed the arrest of Mahomed Ali as a God-send but with inexplicable inconsistency, accused the Viceroy in the same breath of breach of faith. He was perhaps, not aware of the Government of India's statement reserving freedom to prosecute the Ali Brothers if the terms of the apology were not carried out by the latter. He gave a certificate to the non-violent character of the Ali Brothers' propaganda which surprised those who knew that it was the Mahatma who initiated the idea of apologising to the Government after being convinced of the violent tendency of the Ali Brothers' speeches. The Mahatma asserted that much innocent blood in Malabar would have been spared if the Government had invited him and his two allies to enter the disturbed area and had given them an opportunity to procure calmness and peace. Was the Mahatma really sincere when he gave utterance to these heartless words? The Moplah outbreak was in the third week of August and reports of the horrors were published inextenso in the Press. The Mahatma, not being mundane, never reads newspapers excepting, perhaps, a select few specialised in non-cooperation propaganda. It was nobody's fault if he did not keep himself informed correctly of the occurrences in the country. The Mahatma was peregrinating in the North, with processions and addresses galore, while all India was horrified at the reports of occurrences in Malabar. Did the Mahatma make any attempt to visit Malabar before September 15? Did he take any trouble to publish his views broadcast? Was he not encouraging the Working Committee of the Congress not to place any reliance on the reports published in the papers? It is mere puerillity to blame the Government for not inviting the Mahatma's cooperation when, to all intents and purposes, the Mahatma had no mundane residence between the date of the outbreak and his appearance in Madras on September 15. We will not call it a Government if it invited him to cooperate in quelling disorder. We do not say that the Government should not seek the cooperation of the public on such occasions but it must be humiliating to it to invite the cooperation of one who had dubbed it "satanic" and had declared a non-violent war and N. C. O. There does not seem to be much earnestness in a leader, who threatens to expel the Government in 90 days from now, to complain of Government not cooperating with him.

HANDCUFFING POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Last Monday evening, one of our editorial staff found at the Madras Central Station a body of persons headed by policemen with fixed bayonets and escorting a respectable looking man in handcuffs. On inquiry he learned that it was Mr. V. V. S, Aiyar, late of the *Desabaktan,* convicted that morning for sedition.

In all civilised countries, except perhaps Russia, a distinction is drawn between offences involving moral turpitude and those do not, otherwise called "gentlemanly offences." There can be no question of moral turpitude in political offences, however reprehensible they might be from the point of law and order. A man guilty under any law of the country cannot but be convicted. To leave such persons alone will be undermining the very foundation of society and settled government. Once the offence is brought home to the accused no one can question the fitness of the sentence awarded. Any lesser punishment than that prescribed by law is a matter of discretion for the judge depending on the extenuating circumstances in each case. No hard and fast rule can be laid down.

Society considers a person undergoing imprisonment as an outcast. But this rule has an exception in the case of political offenders. One section of the people backed by the machinery of law and order considers them dangerous to society, whereas another section looks upon them as the champions of liberty. Unless a powerful section of the people is of the former view a conviction is impossible and the opinion of the minority is only of comparatively little value. The object of punishment is either to keep the offender out

of harm's way or to punisn him for his action. In either case the addition of a pair of handcuffs will not further the object. On the other hand, in the eyes of the latter class all punishment is unmerited and the steel bangles will only add to their sense of injustice. We do not propose to hold a brief for these worthy people. But as friends of law and order we would invite the attention of the authorities that when the ends of justice are served in other ways the addition of handcuffs is a superfluity. In the case of thieves, decoits and murderers they are essential. But in the case of educated people who are the usual offenders in political cases such tokens of affection are unnecessary and undesirable. Political offenders are treated like gentlemen all the world over. And Indian Government should not act differently. Handcuffs do not make the prisoner's punishment more severe nor do the public view the offence as more heinous. They only serve to make the prisoner and the on-looker feel that the sentence is carried out in a spirit of vindictiveness.

We feel certain that the Government are actuated by no such motive and that they are only continuing a time-honoured practice in the absence of any suggestion to the contrary. Let us hope that this unnecessary humiliation to persons apparently often really respectable will be discontinued at once. Nothing is lost thereby; and while justice stands fully vindicated, punishment is deprived of its sting.

OUR MAN OF THE WEEK.

Sir Sankaran Nair.

Reuter cabling on the 15 th instant announced the impending retirement of Sir Sankaran Nair from the Council of India; "that his decision did not relate to any question of public policy, but is connected with literary work he contemplates. The activities of Sir Sankaran Nair in the past are too well known to need recapitulation. His bold masterly evidence before Public Services commission is still fresh in our minds. Manly protest against the Punjab atrocities took the form of his resignation while other public men even when protesting seemd to do it in a sort of hole-and-corner style. Far form doing any good this act of cowardice only injures both the cause and its advocate. On the other hand a public man convinced of the justice of his cause ought to take a bold stand without any fear and hoping for no favour, present or prospective. Unfailing observance of this rule of conduct for public men made him one of the foremost Indians of the day-at once loved by India and respected by Britain.

We have it from a very reliable source that Sir Sankar has been fixed upon as the Indian representative at the International Court of Justice. We cannot think of a better choice. His great experience as lawyar and Judge, his thorough independence and impartiality earned him a reputation for being one of the most eminent Judges that ever adorned the Indian Bench. To be a good Judge a man must be a great lawyer. More than that he must possess commonsense. Among those that administered justice in Madras in recent times Sir Sankaran Nair and Sir Abdur Rahim stand out foremost as the most satisfactory Judges. The reason is that they refused to become slaves of precedents often inapplicable, of legal quibbles that caricature law in its worst form and render justice sham and unreal. With such eminent qualities Sir Sankaran Nair cannot fail to distinguish himself even on a tribunal composed of the most distinguished of the world's jurists.

The secret of Sir Sankaran Nair's success in life is due chiefly to his capacity to see ahead of the times. While most men in Madras, if not in India, looked to the exigencies of the hour and played to the popular taste or danced to the bureaucratic tune Sir Sankaran Nair took stock of the situation; formed his own estimate and once his mind was made up fearlessly announced his conclusions and courageously stood by his guns. There were indeed a few such persons in Indian politics and every one of them made his mark in life and left an impression on the history of Indian advancement. Such were Bonnerjee, Wacha, Mehta, Gokhale, Tyabjee to mention a few among a fairly large crowd In the earlier days of India's fight for freedom the upper strata of society did the thinking and the masses followed. But in present day politics the masses dictate the policy which the leaders have to carry out. The only exception to this is perhaps Mahatma Gandhi who always had something new to give the people. No other leader, Nationalist, Moderate or Conservative can claim to have contributed one idea to the advancement of India's political, social, economic or moral advancement. Even if we rack our brains we cannot assign a reason for this poverty of mental power except in the fact thht the dictation of policy is left to the mob whose psychology was never synonymous with sublime ideas.

At the present day in India the charm for popularity is great while fear of unpopularity sometimes ended in shocks and apoplexy if not death itself. Cheap fame without being obliged to

work for it is all the rage today. But the mob is peculiar. No man can be its favourite at all times that is to say unless he is such a consummate hypocrite as to faithfully repeat everything the mob says and practices in public all that it orders, whatever may be his actions in private. It is by the faithful observance of this rule that many of the present day leaders are leaders. They are like mushroom having a rapid rise, growth and sudden decay and death. Others rise the next day in their place and the world is oblivious of all but its latest leaders-though a few of the last set are still in the limelight. On the other hand real leaders stand like the oak unmoved by any passing storm vouchsafing shelter alike from sun and rain-steady, firm, unchanging except to become harder, tougher and greater.' Of this class Sir Sankaran Nair is the last.

MR. S. SATYAMURTI IYER: "POLITICAL EDUCATION".

(Sub Rosa)

Speaking under the auspices of the Naoroji-Gokhale Literary Union-the word 'literarry' saves its being mistaken for a marriage announcement, Mr. Satyamurti began by saying that "the distinction made between the masses and the classes in the matter of political education was purely artificial and unreal and should be done away with".The distinction between the Norwegian and Negro is a natural one and we are not aware of any but artificial distinctions between different sections of the same people excepting perhaps between man and woman, young and old, sensible and senseless.

"The classes were natural leaders of the masses; and yet in fact the classes were not really more educated than the masses". A man often judges others by his own standard. Mr. Satyamurti exhibits chances of future improvement. "In ancient times mass education was not much to the fore because the then prevailing state of things did not necessitate that the masses should themselves move in the matter of their Government"; because Brahmins like Mr. Satyamurti who sprang from the face of Brahma were specially commissioned to undertake this Brown Mans' burden. "In these days of democracy political knowledge was quite essential" because power is now in the hands of Britishers and the stock in trade of the professional agitator has dwindled itself into a glib tongue,a vocabulary of vituperative language and an excitable mob, the loss of which spells starvation.

"The masses could not be indifferent to the mode of Government in which they had to live". How can they when "the classes" will not let them. The classes have to make their living out of politics, including N. C. O. and Khilafat, not to mention Mopla outrages. "The old notion what does it matter whether Rama rules or Ravana rules had no place whatever in modern life." Ravana may be a misprint for Brahmana, Rama standing for Ramarayaningar. If it is really 'Ravana' it must be correct for who can speak with more intimate knowledge of Ravana than Mr. Satyamurti? "Today poverty, ignorance and disease were the order of the day" thanks to a top-heavy administration, N. C. O. and Khilifat activities and incresed military and police expenditure. "And if they wanted to live as other people did the masses ought to have intimate knowledge of how the administration is carried on and how it could be improved to their best advantage". But the agitator exists to keep that knowledge from the masses for fear of losing his calling, income, travelling expenses and public reception. "In his opinion mass education could be best achieved by promoting adult education". At the present time some little education is given to children to which exception is taken. N. C. O. workers acting on the suggestion of Mr. Satyamurty and his betters asked boys to boycott schools and colleges. He wants "dissemination of knowledge in the vernacular on the model of University extension lectures and Magic lantern performances". Magic seems to be a common factor in the program of all non-co-operators. But Mr. Satyamurty goes one better by introducing magic lanterns. We wonder what Mahatma Gandhi will say to the introduction of such foreign articles. "And by encouraging and establishing vernacular journalism all over the country", of course, at another's expense. "And by efficient home teaching and above all by affording large facilities for free and compulsory education". Who will not be thankful for the information that by adult education efficient home teaching and free and compulsory education 'mass education can be achieved'?

"By such means they should inculcate the idea of Swaraj which meant the peoples' control over taxation, law and administration". Mr. Satyamurti is nothing if not original; but in this particular instance the Malabar Moplas stole a march over him and actually setting up swaraj have control not only over taxation, law and administration but also over Hindu landholders, their title deeds, cash boxes and granaries in addition to commandeering large crops of hair and other personal belongings.

"To attain swaraj the first thing they ought to do was to give up their present mania for offices" (lawyering excepted, unless money is assured in other ways) "and to try and capture Legislative Councils and all municipal bodies which had control over the administration". We are not aware of any longstanding vacancies in these bodies hitherto found incapable of being filled. By the way, is this the thin end of the wedge? Mr. Satyamurti seems to have an idea of contesting a seat at the next election. An astrologer recently calculated that Jupiter, Moon and Venus in Mr. Satyamurty's horoscope are favourably disposed to enterprises of this description and the chances of success are not very remote.

"That control has not now been properly exercised because owing to the lack of sympathy between the rulers and the ruled and the consequent boycott of these bodies by their national leaders these bodies were not in a position to give them the best education that they wanted". A first prize of Rs. 100 and a second of Rs. 50 was recently offered for a full analysis with parsing of every word in the above sentence together with an intelligible annotation of the same. We hope some one will benefit by the competition. For ourselves, we never know that the legislative and municipal bodies were intended to give Mr. Satyamurti and others the best education they wanted", we firmly belive *so badly*. Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent N. C. O is at last impeached by its loudest champion and in place of voluntary suffering people are asked to "exert their best by all possible means to gain them". We have a fancy that this may remind some of the far off echoes of Malabar that still reverberste in our ears.

In conclusion Mr. Satyamurti disapproved of the burning of foreign cloth and "thought that a proper solution lay not in charkas alone but also in the increased production of cloths by Indian mills". A constructive genius for once!!

The speech was over. Yet the audience stood in rapt admiration.

"Still they gazed and still the wonder grew
That one small head could carry all he knew."

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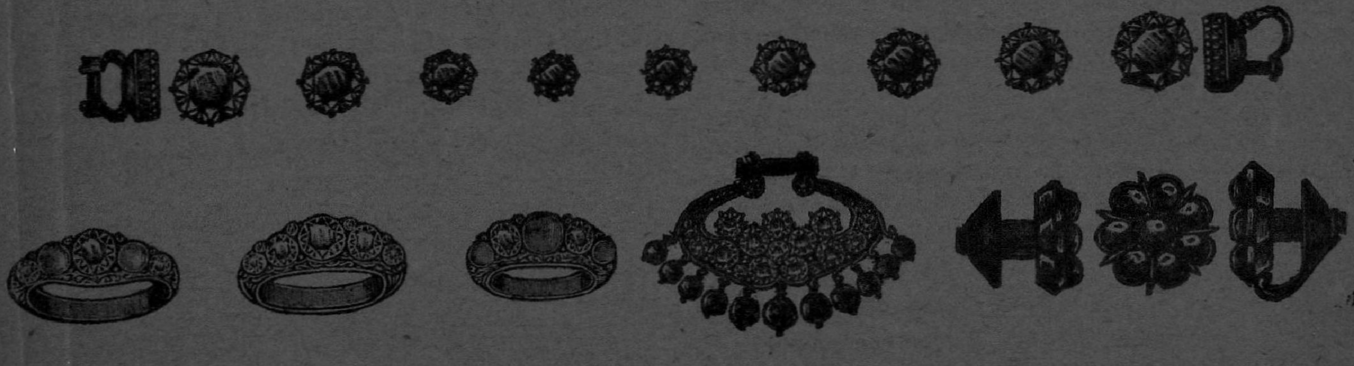

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DIARY OF EVENTS

HOME

17th Sept. Twenty-seven members of Legislative Assembly form party called The Domocratic Party. Total Rupee loan subscriptions exceed 47 crores. Police raid Lahore Khilafat office. Public meeting in Benares protests against Dr. Gour's Bill. Mahatma Gandhi left Madras. Press communique announced arrest of Ali Brothers, Dr. Kichlew and three others. Anti-non-cooperation conference held in Coconada.

18th Sept. Indian newspapers comment on arrest of Ali Brothers. Additional Police quartered disturbed area in Madras. Mr C. R. Das recommended as President next Congress.

19th Sept. Council of State discussed Mopla outbreak. Government accepted Mr Sethna's motion recommending transfer to India German portion of Rhodes Scholarship Fund. Workmen in several Bombay Mills struck work. Dr. Kichlew arrested. Mr. V. V. S. Ayer, Editor, *Desabakthan* sentenced to 9 months imprisonment. Disturbance between Caste-Hindus and Adi-Dravidas at Kakathope, Madras, reported.

20th Sept. Bill to amend Indian Electricity Act introduced in the Legislative Assembly. Some Khilafat workers of Malabar arrested at Trichinopoly. Mahatma Gandhi prohibited to pass through the Pudukottah State. Trivandrum Students Strikers joined classes. Indian Legislative Assembly in session. Prince of Wales programme in Bombay published.

21st Sept. Legislative Assembly in sessions. More details of Malabar rebellion published. Sessions Judge acquitted five accused in the Malegaon case. Council of the central committee of the all-India Khilafat committee meets in Delhi *in camera*. Pir Bedsha Mian, religious leader of large number of Mahamadans sentenced one year rigorous by Magistrate, Faridpur. Fracas between Police and British soldiers in Chakrata reported. Report of the Repressive Laws Committee published. Rowlatt Act to be repealed.

22nd Sept Sir Jamsetji Jijibhoy elected Deputy President of Legislative Assembly. Sir P. S. Sivaswami ayer's resolution regarding N. W. Frontier Province carried. Lahore citizens protest against proscription of Jamait-Ul-Ulma Fatwa. Moplas loot Nambudri Illoms and Hindu houses. In commemorations of the Prince of Wales visit, Calcutta University proposes conferring Honorary Degrees on many persons.

23rd Sept. Legislative Assembly voted on demands for supplementary grants. Mahamed Ali's parting message published. Civil Administration resumed at Angadipuram, Malabar. 3 members of the Servants of India proceed to Malabar. Mahatma Gandhi discards cap and shirt up to October 31.

FOREIGN

17th Sept. De Valera writes to Mr. Lloyd George emphasising that Ireland recognises itself as a sovereign state. Six-hundredth anniversary of the death of Dante celebrated throughout Italy. British Association concluded its session and will meet in Hull in 1922, Liverpool in 1923 and in Canada in 1924.

18th Sept. De Valera again negotiates Conference with Premier who insists that claim to negotiate as a sovereign state must be given up.

19th Sept. Greeks fall back on line Eskisher-Seyid Ghazi Kulahia. International commission for relief of Russian famine decides to convene European Conference of 24 States. Premier cancelled Conference at Inverness. Sir Sankaran Nair resigned office (15-9-21).

20th Sept. Greeks fall back at various points, notably west of the Sakaria river. Japan offered to restore Kiachau to China if latter throws it open to all foreigners. Correspondence between Mr. Lloyd George and De Valara published indicating no agreement arrived at.

21st Sept. United States assures Russia to safeguard latter's interst at the Washington Conference. German Reichstag ratified Peace Treaty between Germany and America. 12,000,000 gold marks received in New York from German Government to be deposited to the credit of the Bank of England as reparation payment.

22nd Sept. Food train to Russia derailed resulting in great loss of food stuffs. First train containing children refugees arrived at Camel, white Russia. British note to Russia of specific instances of violation of trade agreement in India, Persia, Turkestan, Angora and Afghanistan with object of creating dissension in Br. Colonies and India. Gen Harington summoned Turkish war Member and announced decision to annul time limit for arrest of conspirator in recently discovered plot. Turkish Govt's behaviour satisfactory. That Turkey or Greece applied to League of Nations for mediation is denied.

23rd Sept. United States' provisional program at Washington Conference published and Mr Lloyd George and Lord Curzon will not attend it. League of Nations adopted report urging prompt settlement of Armenian question. Lord Curzon received Afghan mission.

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